



## Is the economy's “free-fall” over?

### Economic Experts Suggest Causes, Next Steps for Economy *by Sasha Talcott*

Global leaders are facing the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. Though Lawrence Summers, on leave from Harvard Kennedy School and the Belfer Center to serve as director of the National Economic Council, predicted that the sense of “freefall” may end in the next several months, a recovery is likely to still be some distance away. Belfer Center experts offer their thoughts on where the situation is headed, and what policymakers should do now:

MARTHA STEWART



**Best Minds Forward:** **Martin Feldstein** (left), a member of the White House Economic Recovery Advisory Board, and **Jeffrey Frankel**, Harvard Kennedy School professor—both members of the Belfer Center Board of Directors—offer insight and analysis of the economic crisis during the Center’s International Council meeting in April.

#### **Paul Volcker**

Member, Belfer Center International Council  
**Now:** Chairman, Economic Recovery Advisory Board

**“We’re in a government-dependent financial system; I never thought I’d see the day.”**  
—Paul Volcker

On the economy: “I’m not here to tell you the economy is going to recover very strongly in the short run. There is reason to believe that it should be leveling off, at a low level.” (Bloomberg, 4/29/09)

On government involvement: “We’re in a government-dependent financial system; I never thought I’d see the day.” (*Wall Street Journal*, 4/8/09)

On international financial regulation: “In this world, I don’t see how we can avoid international consistency . . .” (Bloomberg, 3/6/09)

On money funds: “If they are going to talk like a bank and squawk like a bank, they ought to be regulated like a bank.” (*Wall Street Journal*, 2/17/09)

**“The sense of a ball falling off the table . . . you will no longer have that sense of free-fall.”**  
—Lawrence Summers

#### **Lawrence H. Summers**

On leave from Belfer Center Board of Directors  
**Now:** Director, National Economic Council

*From the Financial Times, 4/9/09*

“The sense of a ball falling off the table—which is what the economy has felt like since the middle of last fall—I think we can be reasonably confident that that’s going to end within the next few months and you will no longer have that sense of free-fall.”

#### **Martin Feldstein**

Member, Belfer Center Board of Directors  
**Now:** Member, Economic Recovery Advisory Board

*From Daily News Egypt, 2/26/09*

“The massive downturn in America’s economy will last longer and be more damaging than previous recessions, because it is driven by an unprecedented loss of household wealth.”

“The fall in share prices and in home values has destroyed more than \$12 trillion of household wealth in the United States, an amount equal to more than 75 percent of GDP. Previous reactions to declines in household wealth indicate that such a fall will cut consumer spending by about \$500 billion every year until wealth is restored . . . The annual number of housing starts has fallen by 1.2 million units, cutting annual GDP by an additional \$250 billion. . . . So the US economy faces a \$750 billion shortfall of demand.”

“The stimulus package would thus fill less than half of the hole in GDP caused by the decline in household wealth and housing construction, with the remaining demand shortfall of \$450 billion in each of the next two years causing serious second-round effects. As demand falls, businesses will reduce production, leading to lower employment and

incomes, which in turn will lead to further cuts in consumer spending.”

#### **Niall Ferguson**

Member, Belfer Center Board of Directors

*From Ferguson’s web site, 2/12/09*

“The Western world is suffering a crisis of excessive indebtedness. Many governments are too highly leveraged, as are many corporations. More importantly, households are groaning under unprecedented debt burden.”

“The solution to the debt crisis is not more debt but less debt. Two things must happen. First, banks that are *de facto* insolvent need to be restructured—a word that is preferable to the old-fashioned “nationalization.” Existing shareholders will have to face that they have lost their money. Too bad; they should have kept a more vigilant eye on the people running their banks. Government will take control in return for a substantial recapitalization after losses have meaningfully been written down.”

**“The solution to the debt crisis is not more debt but less debt.”**  
—Niall Ferguson

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MARTHA STEWART

**Word to the Wise:** **Paul Volcker** (right), chair of President Obama’s Economic Recovery Advisory Board, discusses the economic crisis at the Center’s International Council meeting in April. **Robert Taubman**, a member of the Council, took part in the discussion.





# FROM THE DIRECTOR

*John Allie*

*"Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influence, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist . . . Soon or late, it is ideas, not vested interests, which are dangerous for good or evil."*

—John Maynard Keynes

Ideas matter—rarely more so than in times of crisis or at hinges of history. While no one would dismiss Keynes as “defunct,” or the global leaders currently embracing his prescriptions as “exempt from any intellectual influence,” Keynes’ central point is surely right. It is ideas that count—for good, or evil.

For a Center committed to advancing policy-relevant knowledge about the most important international challenges, the current avalanche of seemingly insurmountable challenges is a time of great excitement. To cite but one example, sparks from this year’s International Council meeting are still flying from **Paul Volcker** (chair of President Obama’s Economic Recovery Advisory Board) and **Marty Feldstein**’s (a member of that Committee as well as of the Center’s board) candid assessments of the current state of the global economic crisis and the ongoing struggle to address this challenge.

Several dozen members of the Center’s core staff and immediate family of recent fellows

have been chosen by President Obama to join the new administration’s team. To name but a few: the chief White House Economic Advisor (**Larry Summers**) and Science Advisor (**John Holdren**), two Under Secretaries at the Department of Defense (**Ashton Carter** and **Michele Flournoy**), **Kurt Campbell** at State, **Rand Beers** and **Juliette Kayyem** at the Department of Homeland Security, and **Samantha Power**, **Liz Sherwood-Randall**, and **Gary Samore** at NSC.

**Similarities between policies proposed by the Obama administration, and ideas that have been percolating at the Center, are not merely coincidental.**

- The President’s April 27 speech to the National Academy of Sciences committed the nation to spend three percent of its GDP on research and development, echoing views expressed by leaders of the Center’s Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program from **Harvey Brooks** to **Holdren**.
- The President’s April 5 speech in Prague focusing on nuclear danger and committing his administration to negotiate a new arms control agreement with Russia, reduce the role of nuclear weapons in the U.S. national security strategy, and secure all vulnerable nuclear materials within four years, embraces recommendations urged here at the Center for a decade.
- The President’s proposal to mitigate climate disruption by putting a price on greenhouse



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**Attention to Afghanistan:** **Rory Stewart** (right), director of the Harvard Kennedy School’s Carr Center for Human Rights, and member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, makes a point about U.S. policy in Afghanistan while **Joseph Nye** looks on during a Belfer Center directors’ lunch. Stewart is featured on page 8.

gas emissions—a concept advocated for some years by the Center’s **Robert Stavins**, **John Holdren**, and **Kelly Sims Gallagher**.

While the temporary loss of a number of key members leaves holes at the Center, we are fortunate to have new colleagues arriving, including **Venkatesh “Venky” Narayana-murti** (formerly dean of the School of Engineering and Applied Sciences); **Nick Burns** (formerly the top-ranking career diplomat at the State Department); **Rolf Mowatt-Larssen** and **Will Tobey** (formerly director of the Office of Intelligence and Counterintelligence and deputy administrator for Nuclear Nonproliferation at the Department of Energy); **Paula Dobriansky** (former under secretary of state for democracy and global affairs); and **John Gieve** (former deputy governor of the Bank of England). 🌐

## Paula Dobriansky and John Gieve Named Senior Fellows by Beth Maclin

Ambassador **Paula Dobriansky**, under secretary of state for democracy and global affairs under President George W. Bush, and Sir **John Gieve**, former deputy governor of the Bank of England, have joined the Belfer Center as senior fellows.

At the State Department, Dobriansky’s portfolio encompassed a broad range of critical foreign policy issues, including democracy, human rights, labor, refugee and humanitarian relief matters, and environmental/science issues. She led the U.S. delegation in international negotiations that focused on a successor to the Kyoto Protocol, the current global climate agreement whose first commitment period ends in 2012. She also was designated special coordinator for



Tibetan issues and the President’s special envoy on Northern Ireland, with the rank of ambassador.

While at the Belfer Center, Dobriansky is hosting a seminar series that draws on the global issues she oversaw at the State Department. Discussions range from health as a national security issue to democracy promotion to international climate policy.

**Former U.S. and UK officials bring valuable expertise to the Belfer Center.**

Gieve served as deputy governor of the Bank of England from 2006 until February 2009. In that position, he was responsible for measures to stabilize the financial sector, involving close engagement with leading banks and their regulators at home and abroad. In addition, he was a member of the

Monetary Policy Committee, which sets interest rates, and the Financial Stability Forum, which is leading the international response to the credit crisis. During the past year, he headed efforts to change the Bank’s role in order to tackle the financial crisis.

At the Belfer Center, Gieve is sharing his expertise and insights and exploring ideas for international financial system reforms with other economics experts and with faculty, fellows, and students concerned about the impact of the financial crisis on public policy issues. He is also exploring with colleagues the differences between counter-terrorism responses in the United States and the United Kingdom. 🌐





# More Members of Belfer Center Community Head to Washington

**A**s President Obama continues to fill crucial positions in his administration, the Belfer Center finds its own list of current and former faculty, fellows, and staff going to Washington, D.C. getting longer. Newly announced members of the Belfer Center community include the following. For a full list of Center members serving the government, see <http://belfercenter.org/government/appointments>.



**Kurt Campbell** (Former Belfer Center Assistant Director and Research Fellow)

**Now:** Nominated Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, State Department

*"Japan . . . has been analyzed through the prism of the Iraq war; however, a majority of these analytic undertakings fail to decipher long-term structural changes that are taking place in Tokyo's policymaking apparatus."*  
—(The Ripple Effect: Japan's Responses to the Iraq War, CNAS, October 15, 2008)



**Ivo Daalder** (Former Research Fellow, Belfer Center International Security Program)

**Now:** Named Ambassador to NATO

*"The Bucharest summit sort of underlines the lack of the Western consensus on both what is happening inside Russia, and how Europe and the United States ought to position themselves with regard to Russia."*  
—Ivo Daalder ("Certain Ideas of Europe: U.S.-Europe Relations: What Role for NATO?" *The Economist*, May 9, 2008)



**Bonnie Jenkins** (Former Research Fellow, Belfer Center Managing the Atom/ International Security Program)

**Now:** Nominated Coordinator for Threat Reduction Programs (with the Rank of Ambassador), Department of State



**Juliette Kayyem** (On leave, Belfer Center Board of Directors)

**Now:** Appointed Assistant Secretary of Intergovernmental Programs, Department of Homeland Security

*"In the world of homeland security, 'dual use' [of assets] means a lot—in a time of fiscal crisis, things are getting cut left and right—we have to prioritize."*

—Juliette Kayyem ("Kayyem Conducts a Responder Revolution," *Homeland Security Today*, February 2009)



**James N. Miller, Jr.** (Former Research Fellow, Belfer Center International Security Program)

**Now:** Nominated Deputy Under Secretary for Policy, Department of Defense

*"It is too early to know, but not too early to hope, that a new President will ensure that 'No More Iraqs' means policy based on pragmatism and professionalism, rather than ideology and wishful thinking."*

—James N. Miller, Jr. ("No More Iraqs," *American Security Project*, December 5, 2007)



**Michael Nacht** (Former Assistant Director, Center for Science and International Affairs (now Belfer Center))

**Now:** Nominated Assistant Secretary for Global Strategic Affairs, Department of Defense



**Gary Samore** (Former Research Fellow, Belfer Center International Security Program)

**Now:** Appointed Weapons of Mass Destruction Coordinator, National Security Council

*"[President Obama should] reassure the Asian countries and warn the North Koreans that the U.S. is not going to fully normalize relations with North Korea . . . until it gives up its nuclear weapons."*

—Gary Samore ("Disarming, Delisting, and Dealing with North Korea: Next Steps," *CFR*, November 12, 2008)



**Moira Whelan** (Former Director, Belfer Center Office of Communications and Outreach)

**Now:** Director of Strategic Communications, Department of Homeland Security

**"Our nation will be well-served by these fine individuals who all bring dedication to our country and impressive expertise in their fields."**

**—President Obama  
(April 14, 2009)**



**Daniel Poneman** (Former Research Fellow, Belfer Center International Security Program)

**Now:** Nominated Deputy Secretary, Department of Energy



**Samantha Power** (Former Executive Director, Belfer Center Human Rights Initiative)

**Now:** Appointed Senior Director for Multilateral Affairs, National Security Council

*"No U.S. president can afford to hold talks for talks' sake or rely exclusively on diplomacy in foreign policy . . . But in a nuclear world where the U.S. cannot stamp out all threats militarily, our leaders should begin a pragmatic debate about when, how and for what to engage rather than reduce America's options to a false choice between appeasement and war."*

—Samantha Power ("Engage Your Enemies," *TIME*, June 12, 2008)

## Economic Advice

(continued from page 1)

**Jeffrey Frankel**

Faculty Affiliate, Belfer Center

From Frankel's weblog, 2/22/09

**"The usual reason that is given not to fear a repeat of the Great Depression is that we have learned from the mistakes of that era, and won't repeat them this time."**

"There are four big lessons for economic policy from the 1930s:

- (1) Monetary policy — The Fed should respond to a severe loss of demand by aggressive monetary expansion, not by allowing the money supply to contract as happened in the 1930s.
- (2) Regulation of the financial sector — In times of financial crisis, many banks and especially their depositors will have to be bailed out; this recognition in turn requires a corresponding degree of regulation in normal times.
- (3) Fiscal policy — When a deficiency of aggregate demand leads to a serious and prolonged recession, the government should respond with intelligently designed fiscal easing, in the form of both spending increases and tax cuts.
- (4) Trade policy — President Hoover signed the infamous Smoot-Hawley bill in 1930. The consequences are well-known. Other countries instantly retaliated, and emulated this aggressive act of protectionism. Over the subsequent years world trade collapsed (down 60% by 1932), helping to put the "Great" into Great Depression."

# Center Hosts U.S.-China Workshop on Clean Energy and Carbon Collection, Sequestration by Sasha Talcott

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**Global Solutions:** Professor **Cao Jianlin**, vice minister of China's Ministry of China and Technology, presents the opening remarks at the joint U.S.-China workshop.

With both China and the United States relying heavily on coal for electricity, senior government officials from both countries have urged immediate action to push forward technology that would reduce carbon dioxide emissions from coal-fired plants. They discussed possible actions at a high-level workshop in April jointly sponsored by the Belfer Center's Energy Technology Innovation Project (ETIP) research group, China's Ministry of Science and Technology, and the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

Citing figures from the Energy Information Administration and the International Energy Agency, **John Holdren**, on leave from the Harvard Kennedy School to serve as President Barack Obama's science advisor, said global electricity generation is expected to triple by 2050 under "business as usual" scenarios, compared to 2000 levels, and reach five times those levels by 2100.

**"These are staggering problems," Holdren said. "We're all interested in renewables and in the prospects of nuclear energy, but the baseline expectation is that fossil fuels will continue to play a dominant role."**

That makes finding better ways to reduce the greenhouse gas emissions from coal all the more important, Holdren said.

The workshop aimed to develop concrete and specific opportunities for U.S.-China cooperation on advanced coal technologies, and the group will submit policy recommendations to both the Obama Administration and the Chinese government. **Cao Jianlin**, vice minister in China's Ministry of Science and Technology, represented the Chinese government together with **Jiang Mianheng**, vice president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

The workshop examined issues surrounding Integrated Gasification Combined Cycle (IGCC) coal plants, which turn coal into gas and remove impurities before the coal is combusted, and the related carbon capture and sequestration, in which the carbon dioxide

emissions are captured and stored underground to avoid releasing carbon dioxide into the atmosphere. Though promising, advanced coal technologies face steep financial and legal hurdles, and almost certainly will need sustained support from governments to develop the technology and move it to a point where its costs are low enough for widespread use.

In his opening remarks, Cao said China attaches "great importance" to developing advanced coal technology. Although China has invested heavily in solar and wind power, it continues to rely on coal to fuel roughly 70 percent of its commercial energy needs.

China and the United States are the two world's largest users of coal. Though relatively abundant and cheap, coal emits more carbon dioxide per unit of energy than either oil or natural gas—making it particularly problematic for mitigating global climate change.

Jiang noted that China's projected use of energy is set to increase dramatically in the coming years, with coal as the single largest source of emissions. Most of China's coal goes to industrial uses and power generation, rather than the residential uses, he said.

**Jiang said the clean use of coal is one of the top priorities for the Chinese Academy of Sciences. "It is my strong belief that together we'll be able to make a difference."**

The workshop was part of an ongoing partnership between the Belfer Center's Energy Technology Innovation Policy research group and China's Ministry of Science and Technology, said **Kelly Sims Gallagher**, director of the research group. Since 2002, the groups have held at least one workshop per year in China

and the United States on technology policy for cleaner and more efficient energy.

**"Mutual education has been one of the biggest contributions of this partnership," Gallagher said.**

Cao also noted that the Chinese government's collaboration with the Energy Technology Innovation Policy research group at Harvard has been a "great success" to date, and said he looks forward to discussion of future collaboration. Jiang said the workshop program has gained momentum over the years and has become a "common platform for dialogue between the energy communities in the United States and China."

Holdren said that workshop participants can make a large contribution by identifying specific actions that should be taken to promote advanced coal technologies in the US and China. He said that the disruption and impact from global climate change are growing much more rapidly than predicted just a few years ago.

Using figures from the International Energy Agency, Holdren noted that it will be next to impossible to achieve these kind of greenhouse gas emissions reductions without finding solutions to reduce the emissions from coal and also from transportation fuels.

Gallagher and **Zhao Lifeng** of the Chinese Academy of Sciences (and a former fellow with the Energy Technology Innovation Policy research group) will co-author recommendations made at the workshop, which they will release to both administrations and other policymakers from around the world.



**Energy in Motion:** Leaders and participants in the joint U.S.-China energy workshop included (left to right): **Xiao Yunhan**, Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS); **Xu Jing**, Ministry of Science & Technology (MOST), former Center fellow with the Science, Technology, and Public Policy program; **Jiang Mianheng**, vice president, CAS; **John P. Holdren**, science advisor to President Obama, on leave from the Belfer Center; **Cao Jianlin**, vice minister, MOST; **Kelly Sims Gallagher**, director, Belfer Center's Energy Technology Innovation Policy (ETIP) research group; **Zhao Lifeng**, CAS (former ETIP fellow); and **Li Wenhua**, GE Shanghai (former ETIP Fellow).

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These pages feature a few of the talented women and men who are current and former faculty, fellows, staff, and associates of the Belfer Center whose work is making significant contributions in public and private sectors around the world.

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## Faculty, Fellows,

### Featured Fellows

#### Thomas Hegghammer

Research Fellow, Initiative on Religion in International Affairs/International Security Program



Thomas Hegghammer

As a high school student in Narvik, Norway, Thomas Hegghammer became fascinated with classical travel accounts from Egypt. This interest led him to an undergraduate degree in Egyptology and Classical Hebrew and months of traveling in Egypt and Israel to explore archaeological sites and decipher hieroglyphs. As he traveled, he discovered an interest in the region's contemporary politics, so went on to earn a master's degree in Modern Middle East Studies.

**“The Afghan jihad marked the beginning of the internationalization of jihad that ultimately produced 9/11.”**

Hegghammer's research interest is militant Islamism and the early history of the jihadi movement. At the Belfer Center, he is writing a book about the Islamist ideologue Abdallah Azzam and the Arab mobilization to 1980s Afghanistan.

“The Afghan jihad,” Hegghammer says, “marked the beginning of the internationalization of jihad that ultimately produced 9/11. However, we don't know why the Arabs went there in the first place. The answer, I argue, is in the rise of what I call the ‘pan-Islamist movement,’ a loose cluster of organizations and charities working to promote inter-Muslim solidarity from the early 1970s onward.”

Hegghammer will spend the next academic year as a member of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

#### Maya Tudor

Research Fellow, International Security Program/Intrastate Conflict Program

Backpacking her way through India and Pakistan after college, Maya Tudor, a research fellow with the Center's International Security Program and Intrastate Conflict Program, was struck by the sense that while differences exist, India and Pakistan share much more in common—from languages and cuisines to widespread poverty and colonial histories—than not. And yet, their political systems appeared radically different.

**“After all, the point of scholarship is not just to better understand the world, but also to help change it.”**

“When I enrolled in a doctorate program in politics years later, these travel musings motivated my core research question, namely why India was able to create a stable democratic regime while Pakistan was not,” Tudor says. “My dissertation,” she says, “suggests that two factors—the classes dominating the respective independence movements and the kinds of



Maya Tudor

political parties these classes created—critically explain the initial establishment of a stable democracy in India and an unstable autocracy in Pakistan.”

“Going forward, I hope to disseminate my research in an organization directly informing public policy,” Tudor says. “After all, the point of scholarship is not just to better understand the world, but also to help change it.”

Tudor moves on to a post-doctoral fellowship in June at the Centre for the Study of Inequality and Democracy in Oxford University's Department of Politics and International Relations. 📖

### Center Fellows and Associates to Expand Impact in New Positions

**Mohammed Al-Juaied** (Energy Technology Innovation Policy research group (ETIP) visiting scholar) will be a Harvard Kennedy School Mason Fellow next year.

**Ivan Arreguin-Toft** (International Security Program (ISP) fellow) has been appointed assistant professor of international relations in the Department of International Relations at Boston University.

**Jennifer Bulkeley** (ISP fellow and Preventive Defense Project research assistant) successfully defended her public policy dissertation at Harvard Kennedy School.

**Bryan Early** (Dubai Initiative (DI) fellow) has been named assistant professor in the Departments of Political Science and Public Administration and Policy at the State University of New York at Albany.

**Michal Ben-Josef Hirsch** (ISP fellow) recently completed her doctorate and will be a fellow at Brandeis University.

**Megan Mackenzie** (ISP/Women in Public Policy Program fellow) has been appointed a lecturer on gender and international security at Victoria University of Wellington in New Zealand.

**Karthika Sasikumar** (ISP associate) has been named assistant professor of political science at San Jose State University.

**Lee Seymour** (ISP and Intrastate Conflict Program (ICP) fellow) will take an assistant professor position at Leiden University's Department of Political Science.

**Paul Staniland** (ISP/ICP fellow) will be a pre-doctoral fellow in the Program on Order, Conflict, and Violence at Yale University's MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies.

**Karine Walther** (Harvard Kennedy School visiting adjunct lecturer and fellow with DI, ISP, and Initiative on Religion in International Affairs) will join the Georgetown School of Foreign Service faculty in Qatar as a visiting assistant professor in history.

**Keren Yarhi-Milo**, now Dr. Yarhi-Milo (ISP fellow), has been appointed assistant professor at Princeton University's politics department and the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

**Sarah Zukerman** (ISP/ICP fellow) will be a pre-doctoral fellow at Stanford University's Center for International Security and Cooperation in the fall and return to the Belfer Center in the spring.

## A Proposed Global Climate Policy Architecture by Jeffrey Frankel

A Conference of Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change will meet in Copenhagen in December to try to decide a successor regime to the Kyoto Protocol. This study offers a proposal that builds on the foundations of Kyoto, in that it accepts the framework of national targets for emissions and tradable permits. But it attempts to solve the most serious deficiencies of that agreement: the need for long-term targets, the absence of participation by the United States and developing countries, and the incentive for countries to fail to abide by their commitments. Although there are many ideas to succeed the Kyoto Protocol, the existing proposals are typically based on just one or two out of the following three factors: science (e.g., capping global concentrations at 450 ppm) or equity (equal emissions per capita across countries) or economics (weighing the economic costs of aggressive short-term cuts against the long-term environmental benefits). The plan for emissions reductions proposed in this paper is more practical because it is based heavily on politics, in addition to those three considerations.

### Overview

The proposal calls for a successor international agreement that establishes a global cap-and-trade system. The emissions caps are set using formulas that assign quantitative emissions limits to countries in every five-year period from now until 2100. Three political constraints are particularly important in specifying the formulas. First, developing countries are not asked to bear any cost in the early years. Second, even later, developing countries are not asked to make any sacrifice that is different from the earlier sacrifices of industrialized countries, accounting for differences in incomes. Third, no country is asked to accept targets that cost it more than 5 percent of GDP in any given year.

**This structure precludes energy-intensive industries from moving operations to developing countries.**

Under the formulas, rich nations begin immediately to make emissions cuts. Developing countries agree to maintain their business-as-usual emissions in the first decades, but over the longer term agree to binding targets that ultimately reduce emissions below business as usual. This structure precludes energy-intensive industries from moving operations to developing countries (so-called “carbon

leakage”) and gives industries a more even playing field. However, it still preserves developing countries’ ability to grow their economies; they can also raise revenue by selling emission permits. In later decades, the emissions targets asked of developing countries become stricter, following a numerical formula. However, these emissions cuts are no greater than the cuts made by rich nations earlier in the century, accounting for differences in per-capita income, per-capita emissions, and baseline economic growth.

This system of targets results in a world price of carbon dioxide that reaches \$20–\$30 per ton in 2020, \$100–\$160 per ton in 2050, and \$700–\$800 per ton in 2100, according to economic simulations using the WITCH climate model. Most countries sustain economic losses that are under one percent of GDP in the first half of the century, but then rise toward the end of the century. Atmospheric concentrations of CO<sub>2</sub> stabilize at 500 ppm in the last quarter of the century, and world temperatures increase by about 3 degrees.

We have not yet been able to achieve year-2100 concentrations of 450PPM while obeying the same political-economic constraints.

**Any future climate agreement must comply with six important political constraints.**

### Key Findings & Recommendations

- Any future climate agreement must comply with six important political constraints. **First**, the US will not commit to quantitative targets if China and other major developing countries do not commit to quantitative targets at the same time, due to concerns about economic competitiveness and carbon leakage. **Second**, China and other developing countries will not make sacrifices different in character from those made by richer countries that have gone before them. **Third**, in the long run, no country can be rewarded for having “ramped up” its emissions high above the levels of 1990. **Fourth**, no country will agree to participate if, in any year, the present discounted value of its future expected costs is more than, say, 1% of GDP. **Fifth**, no country will abide by targets that cost it more than, say, 5% of GDP in any year. Sixth, if one major country drops out, others will become discouraged and the system may unravel.

- Future emissions caps should be determined by a formula that incorporates three elements: a Progressivity Factor, a Latecomer

Catch-up Factor, and a Gradual Equalization Factor. The Progressivity Factor requires richer countries to make more severe cuts relative to their business-as-usual emissions. The Latecomer Catch-up Factor requires nations that did not agree to binding targets under Kyoto to make gradual emissions cuts to account for their additional emissions since 1990. This factor prevents latecomers from being rewarded with higher targets, or from being given incentives to ramp up their emissions before signing the agreement. Finally, the Gradual Equalization Factor addresses the fact that rich countries are responsible for most of the carbon dioxide currently in the atmosphere. During each decade of the second half of the century, this factor moves per capita emissions in each country a small step in the direction of the global average of per capita emissions.

### Conclusion

The framework here allocates emission targets across countries in such a way that every country is given reason to feel that it is only doing its fair share. Furthermore, the framework—a decade-by-decade sequence of emission targets determined by a few principles and formulas—is flexible enough that it can accommodate major changes in circumstances during the course of the century. 🌱

**Jeffrey Frankel** is the James W. Harpel Professor of Capital Formation and Growth, Harvard Kennedy School, and Belfer Center faculty affiliate.

For the complete research writings underlying this summary: “An Elaborated Proposal for Global Climate Policy Architecture: Specific Formulas and Emission Targets for All Countries in All Decades,” for the *Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements*, see: <http://belfercenter.org/frankelclimateproposal>



**Building on Kyoto:** Jeffrey Frankel (left) discusses his proposed global climate policy architecture at a Belfer Center directors’ lunch in March. Stephen Walt is also pictured.



# Center Scholars Offer Advice on Future of U.S.-Russia Relations

## Allison, with Bipartisan Commission, Meets with President Medvedev

by Beth Maclin

**B**elfer Center Director **Graham Allison**, with members of the Bipartisan Commission on U.S. Policy towards Russia, met in March with Russian President **Dmitry Medvedev** and high-level officials in the Obama administration to discuss the future of U.S.-Russia relations.

Members of the Commission, which was established by Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs and the Nixon Center in Washington, D.C., discussed their recently released report, "The Right Direction for U.S. Policy toward Russia."

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**An American commitment to improving U.S.-Russian relations is neither a reward to be offered for good international behavior by Moscow nor an endorsement of the Russian government's domestic conduct.**  
—Commission Report

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### Principal findings—

- In recent years, U.S.-Russian relations have deteriorated to their worst point since the end of the Cold War.
- An American commitment to improving U.S.-Russian relations is neither a reward to be offered for good international behavior by Moscow nor an endorsement of the Russian government's domestic conduct.
- Improving U.S.-Russian relations is an acknowledgement of the importance of Russian cooperation in achieving essential American goals such as preventing Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons, dismantling al Qaeda, stabilizing Afghanistan, and guaranteeing security and prosperity in Europe.

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**U.S. and Russia should work jointly to strengthen the international nonproliferation regime.**  
—Commission Report

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### Principal recommendations—

- Seek to make Russia an American partner in dealing with Iran.
- Work jointly to strengthen the international nonproliferation regime.
- Take a new look at missile defense deployments in Poland and the Czech Republic and making a genuine effort to develop a

cooperative approach to the shared threat from Iranian missiles.

- Accept that neither Ukraine nor Georgia is ready for NATO membership and working closely with U.S. allies to develop options other than NATO membership to demonstrate a commitment to their sovereignty.
- Launch a serious dialogue on arms control, including extending the START I Treaty as well as further reduction of strategic and tactical nuclear weapons.

"Arms control is a beginning, not the end, of an agenda for addressing 21st century nuclear threats," Allison and former Senator **Chuck Hagel**, who cochaired the Commission with former Senator **Gary Hart**, wrote. "For the larger agenda, Obama and Medvedev can build on principles and specific goals affirmed by their predecessors: Bush and Putin. These include agreements on: accelerating existing programs to improve security at nuclear facilities in Russia and beyond; acting jointly to prevent nuclear terrorism; reducing nuclear material inventories and eliminating highly enriched uranium fuel from third countries; and working with the International Atomic Energy Agency to assure that all nations can enjoy the benefits of civilian nuclear energy without enriching uranium or reprocessing spent fuel."

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**"Arms control is a beginning, not the end, of an agenda for addressing 21st century nuclear threats."**  
—Graham Allison and Chuck Hagel

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Following the report release, Medvedev and U.S. President **Barack Obama** met and vowed to "move beyond Cold War mentalities" and address the threat of nuclear weapons.

"As leaders of the two largest nuclear weapons states, we agreed to work together to fulfill our obligations under Article VI of the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and demonstrate leadership in reducing the number of nuclear weapons in the world," Medvedev and Obama said in a joint-statement. "We committed our two countries to achieving a nuclear free world, while recognizing that this long-term goal will require a new emphasis on arms control and



**Looking Forward:** Members of the Bipartisan Commission on U.S. Policy Toward Russia meet in Moscow with Russian President **Dmitry Medvedev** (left) to discuss their recommendations for improving U.S.-Russian relations. U.S. participants pictured (left to right) include Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**, **Maurice Greenberg**, **Richard Burt**, and Ambassador **John Beyle**.

conflict resolution measures, and their full implementation by all concerned nations."

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**"President Obama and Russian President Medvedev have taken important steps to put their efforts to control nuclear weapons back on track ..."**  
—Matthew Bunn

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They emphasized the need to replace the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), which expires in December 2009, with a "new, comprehensive, legally binding agreement on reducing and limiting strategic offensive arms." Medvedev and Obama will receive reports on the progress of negotiations on this by July 2009.

"President Obama and Russian President Medvedev have taken important steps to put their efforts to control nuclear weapons back on track, telling their negotiators to speed up efforts to negotiate a new nuclear reductions pact, continuing and expanding efforts to secure nuclear stockpiles and prevent proliferation, and committing both countries to the long-term objective of a world free of nuclear weapons," said **Matthew Bunn**, associate professor for public policy at Harvard Kennedy School and co-principal investigator of the Belfer Center's Project on Managing the Atom. "This is an excellent first step both in 'resetting' U.S.-Russian relations and in addressing the serious nuclear dangers the world still faces." 🌐



## Rory Stewart

Rory Stewart is the Ryan Family Professor of the Practice of Human Rights and director of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at Harvard Kennedy School and a member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors. A former officer in the British Army and deputy governorate coordinator with the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq, Stewart spent two years walking 6,000 miles across Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, and Nepal—a journey he describes in his critically acclaimed book *The Places in Between*.

**Q** In a New York Times piece in 2007, you said, “The time has come to be honest about the limits of our power and the Afghan reality.” President Obama has said the U.S. will have “limited” objectives in Afghanistan. Do you believe his objective and strategy—to prevent Afghanistan from becoming a sanctuary for Al Qaeda—is realistic? If not, why not?

It is easier to talk of more ‘limited objectives’ than it is to define them. President Obama has said that ‘in order to catch Usama Bin Laden we must stabilize Pakistan and win in Afghanistan.’ Victory, or at least stability, in Afghanistan is apparently to be generated through good governance, the rule of law, economic development, and security. And that in turn is to be created, relatively rapidly (say in five years), through a military and civilian surge.

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**“It would take decades to bring Afghan institutions up to a level with Pakistan’s and Pakistan is not stable.”**

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One can see the appeal of Obama’s idea—an entirely stable state would indeed be the best long-term guarantee of security. But Afghanistan is one of the poorest and most traumatized countries in the world, where perhaps 70 percent of the population can’t read or write. It would take decades to bring Afghan institutions up to a level with Pakistan’s and Pakistan is not stable. A hundred thousand U.S. troops over five years will not begin to allow Obama to create long-term stability in Afghanistan. It is right for us to help foster a more just, humane, and secure society in Afghanistan but that is a long-term humanitarian objective. It is not identical with simply protecting the West from terrorist attacks. And it would require a very gradual, patient developmental relationship over decades, not a short-term surge of troops.

**Q** From your experience in Afghanistan, would you outline your vision for Afghanistan policy moving forward?

I believe we still need to do much more research and thinking before we have a coherent and credible policy for Afghanistan. We are, therefore, gathering here at the Carr Center a group of seven full-time specialists work-

ing collaboratively on Afghan policy. We will also be drawing on the support of the Belfer Center. Our aim is to develop the most sophisticated and nuanced account of Afghanistan and the most effective policy prescriptions for the region. I don’t want to preempt the conclusions of that group. But if I were forced to hazard a guess on the shape of that policy, I would say, President Obama should continue to use counter-terrorism operations to make it too uncomfortable for Usama Bin Laden to establish international training camps in Afghanistan. Simultaneously, we should continue to provide generous development assistance to Afghanistan, targeting those areas where our aid will be effective, welcome, and sustainable. In particular, we should support village-led rural development, agricultural irrigation, electricity, roads, and put far more investment than we have to date into the progressive, Western-friendly communities of the center and the North: such communities will work closely with us to complete the projects and to sustain them. But neither of these two things—counter-terrorism or development assistance—adds up to a grand project of state-building. That objective, however noble, is one that we as foreigners for many reasons are not able to achieve. It is a task for Afghans, whose partners and supporters we can be in the long future of Afghanistan as an independent nation.

**Q** Does your strategy for Afghanistan mean that the Taliban would control a large swath of the country and, if so, can you explain more about why you think the strategy makes sense?

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**“We need to do as much as we can with a reduced troop presence to protect ourselves against Al Qaeda, foster development in Afghanistan, and prevent a return to civil war.”**

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The Taliban currently have far less support and legitimacy than they did in 1994. Their propaganda suggests that much of their support derives from a perception that they are fighting for Islam and Afghanistan against foreign military occupation. None of the Tajik, Hazara, or Uzbek communities or the urban communities (Kabul has over five million people) would

support their return. So long as we have even a few thousand conventional troops in Afghanistan we should be able to prevent them from mounting any kind of conventional threat to a city like Kabul—they would not, for example, be able to move artillery or tanks or gather in company size groups. But disengaging from the South will create space for Afghan groups, including the Taliban (who currently control many rural areas of the South), to grow. We need to do as much as we can with a reduced troop presence to protect ourselves against Al Qaeda, foster development in Afghanistan, and prevent a return to civil war.

**Q** “Afghanistan is the cat and Pakistan is the tiger,” you once said, and asked “Why is the U.S. hitting the cat?” What would you advise President Obama to do about Pakistan?

It is common to say ‘we don’t yet have an answer to Pakistan.’ But that is because we are often asking the wrong question. The United States lacks the knowledge, power, or legitimacy—in short the leverage—to ‘solve Pakistan.’ The only people with the capacity to resolve Pakistan’s problems are the Pakistanis. The challenge is to ensure that the most powerful and influential figures in Pakistan get out of bed in the morning feeling that instability in the tribal areas poses the central threat to Pakistan—as opposed, for example, to the threat from India. The U.S. cannot simply tell Pakistan what its national security interests are. But I am relatively optimistic about the capacity of Pakistanis to eventually resolve these problems—and I am confident that the recent events in Swat and bombs against the military will convince increasing numbers of influential Pakistanis to focus on the threats from the tribal areas.

**Q** When you walked across Afghanistan in 2002, you describe in your book having met “heroes and rogues, tribal elders and teenage soldiers, Taliban commanders and foreign-aid workers.” From your sense of the people of Afghanistan, what do you think they want from the United States?

It is difficult to distinguish what many Afghans want from the U.S. and what they want from their own government, since the U.S. is generally perceived as the power behind the throne. A very common cry is for *adhilat*—Justice—by which communities mean both impartial, non-corrupt judgment and security of property and movement. But corruption and rule of law are areas on which the U.S. has made little progress (perhaps because they are areas which are difficult for foreigners to influence). There is also an intense desire for jobs and incomes, for better education and health care. The U.S. has provided significant support to very successful programs in schools, clinics, and rural development. Finally, the Afghan government has repeatedly requested roads, electricity, and agricultural irrigation and these are clearly things that the U.S. can and should provide. We cannot do less than we pretend in Afghanistan but more than we fear. ■



# BELFER

## Providing Leadership . . .

MICHAEL CASEY



**Attention to Africa:** **Jendayi Frazer**, former assistant secretary of state for African affairs and former Center faculty affiliate, speaks on "Solutions: A Transformative U.S.-Africa Policy" at a John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum at Harvard Kennedy School. Belfer Center Director Graham Allison welcomed Frazer and moderated the forum.

### Nuclear Neighbors?:

Ambassador **Zvi Shtauber** (right), former director for the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) in Tel Aviv, speaks with **Steven Miller** (left), director of the Center's International Security Program, following Shtauber's presentation, "The Middle East Under the Shadow of the Iranian Nuclear Threat," during a seminar hosted by the Project on Managing the Atom and the International Security Program.



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### Gaza Going Forward:

Ambassador **R. Nicholas Burns** (right), professor in the practice of diplomacy and international politics and a member of the Center's board of directors, listens to **Shai Feldman**, a member of the Center's board of directors, speak about "The Road to Peace After Gaza" at a John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum at Harvard Kennedy School. Burns moderated the conversation between Feldman and **Rashid Khalidi** (not pictured), Edward Said professor of Arab studies at Columbia University.



MICHAEL CASEY

BELFER CENTER



**Nuclear Security:** **Arian Pregenzer**, senior scientist in the Global Security Program at Sandia National Laboratories, speaks at a Project on Managing the Atom seminar on near-term opportunities to advance the goals of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty through international technical cooperation.

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**Looking at Labor:** **Elaine Chao**, former secretary of labor and Spring 2009 Institute of Politics fellow, discusses her experience in the Bush administration during a March seminar. As the first U.S. Secretary of Labor in the 21st Century, Chao focused on increasing the competitiveness of America's workforce.



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**Public/Private Opportunities:** **Robert A. Mosbacher Jr.** (center), former president and chief executive officer of the overseas private investment corporation (OPIC), examines opportunities and challenges for the United States during a seminar entitled "Corporate Social Responsibility: The Effective Use of Public Private Partnerships." The presentation was part of a seminar series organized by **Paula Dobriansky** (second from left), a Belfer Center senior fellow and former under secretary of state for democracy and global affairs.



# SPEAKERS

## Advancing Policy-Relevant Knowledge

### Energizing Russia:

**Fiona Hill** (right), national intelligence officer for Russia and Eurasia at the National Intelligence Council and a former Center associate director of the Strengthening Democratic Institutions project, discusses the role of Russia during a Geopolitics of Energy Seminar organized by **Meghan O'Sullivan** (left), lecturer in public policy with the Belfer Center. Hill is also a Frank Knox fellow at Harvard University and serves on the Advisory Board of the Central Eurasia Project of the Open Society Institute in New York.



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**Time of Change:** **Barbara Slavin**, assistant managing editor for World and National Security of the *Washington Times*, speaks during a March seminar called, "Islamic Iran at 30," hosted by the Dubai Initiative. Slavin is also the author of *Bitter Friends, Bosom Enemies: Iran, the U.S. and the Twisted Path to Confrontation*. Among those who took part in the discussion was **Lauren Protentis** (right), Center staff assistant.



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**International Dialogue:** Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** (left) makes a point at the Center's annual International Council meeting. Council chair **James Schlesinger** (center) and member **John Deutch** (right) took part in the discussions about critical international issues.



BELFER CENTER

**Energy in the Future:** **Robert Hefner III**, founder and owner of GHK Exploration, a private natural gas company headquartered in Oklahoma City, and a member of the Center's International Council, examines the continuing decline of coal and oil. He discussed the future of energy during a seminar entitled, "The GET (Grand Energy Transition)."



BELFER CENTER

**Looking Up?:** **Martin Wolf** (left), associate editor and chief economics commentator at the *Financial Times*, discusses the current state of the global economic downturn at a Belfer Center Board of Directors luncheon in March. Wolf is also a forum fellow at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, where he has served as a panel moderator. **Jeffrey Frankel** (right), James W. Harpel Professor of Capital Formation and Growth and Center faculty affiliate, took part in the discussion.



BELFER CENTER

**Exchanging Views:** **Rachel Maddow** (center), journalist and host of MSNBC's "The Rachel Maddow Show," listens to Belfer Center Executive Director for Research **Eric Rosenbach** during a meeting with members of the Center community to learn more about its work in international security. The discussion focused on efforts to prevent nuclear terrorism and nuclear proliferation, subjects of special interest to Maddow.



# SPOTLIGHT

## Venkatesh Narayanamurti by Sasha Talcott

*Venkatesh (Venky) Narayanamurti is the new director of the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy program. He will be named the Benjamin Pierce Professor of Technology and Public Policy at Harvard Kennedy School in July.*

In May 2006, **Venkatesh (Venky) Narayanamurti** gave an impassioned speech before Harvard's Faculty of Arts and Sciences. "We cannot be a great global university if we don't have research and educational programs commensurate with the changing needs of the times," he told them, arguing that Harvard should establish its own School of Engineering and Applied Sciences. Soon after, the faculty unanimously voted in favor, marking a major statement of support for the role of sciences in a world-class university.

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**"We cannot be a great global university if we don't have research and educational programs commensurate with the changing needs of the times."**

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The speech marked the culmination of years of work for Narayanamurti, widely known as "Venky," who as dean of the Division of Engineering and Applied Sciences boosted the size of the faculty by 50 percent and recruited top engineering talent to Harvard. Narayanamurti, who was recently named director of the Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program at Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center, spent months building the case for an engineering school, including persuading former Harvard President **Lawrence H. Summers**.

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**Narayanamurti argued that Harvard could not do great science without great engineering and technology.**

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He argued that a broadly educated person must have an appreciation of science and technology, and that Harvard could not do great science without great engineering and technology. But he also made a direct appeal to Summers' background as an economist. "MIT for awhile had a better economics department than Harvard. In my own field of physics, MIT's department is much larger in size, but that doesn't mean Harvard shouldn't do economics or physics," he told Summers, currently on leave from Harvard Kennedy School and the Belfer Center to serve as President

Obama's director of the National Economic Council. Summers became a strong supporter of the project.

The establishment of the School of Engineering and Applied Sciences is just one highlight in a long and distinguished career for Narayanamurti, who spent 20 years at Bell Labs and Sandia National Laboratories, two of the premier research laboratories in the country and a beacon for the best and the brightest around the world.

Bell Labs, as the in-house research arm of AT&T, demonstrated the value of research in an industrial setting and in undertaking R&D that might not pay off right away. Bell Labs managers, Narayanamurti among them, always kept one foot in research. Narayanamurti never thought of himself as a manager, but rather as a nurturer of top creative talent. He recruited to Bell Labs two young researchers who later won Nobel prizes.

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**At Harvard, he built a different kind of engineering school, one with no clear delineation between departments, and lots of interdisciplinary links.**

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The Bell Labs formula was one he would keep in his years as dean of Harvard's Division of Engineering and Applied Sciences. Even then, as he was traveling across the country building the profile of Harvard engineering, Narayanamurti found time for his own research. Additionally, Bell Labs taught Narayanamurti that interdisciplinary work, and, specifically, mixing basic science with the applied sciences, was a formula for tremendous innovation and success. At Harvard, he built a different kind of engineering school, one with no clear delineation between departments, and lots of interdisciplinary links.

Though Narayanamurti had looked at national security and public policy issues at Bell Labs, his time at Sandia National Laboratories gave him an in-depth look at nuclear policy, as well as the wider aspects of national security and energy policy. Sandia was responsible for the reliability of the United States' nuclear weapons, and Narayanamurti, as vice president of research and exploratory technology, had to make sure future work was done to keep the nuclear stockpile viable.



Narayanamurti said he was first attracted to the Belfer Center and Harvard Kennedy School because of the importance of the federal government in funding science and the early phases of translating science into technology.

"You can't separate science and technology from public policy," Narayanamurti said. "I wanted to spend the last few years of my professional life engaged in scholarship on science-related public policy matters."

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**"You can't separate science and technology from public policy."**

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He also relished the opportunity to follow in the footsteps of former Science, Technology, and Public Policy program directors **Harvey Brooks**, **Lewis Branscomb**, and **John Holdren**, each leaders in their fields. Narayanamurti replaces Holdren as director of the Science, Technology, and Public Policy program. Holdren is on leave from the Belfer Center to serve as science advisor to President Obama.

After World War II, and especially during the Cold War, U.S. science policy was dominated by national security concerns and occurred predominantly in the big national laboratories. Today, however, the challenges are much more diffuse, ranging from national security to energy policy and climate change to health policy to information management, innovation, globalization, and economic competitiveness. The R&D system will need to evolve to meet these new priorities.

At the Belfer Center and Harvard Kennedy School, Narayanamurti plans to teach a class on science, technology, and innovation policy, and conduct research on guiding principles for structuring R&D. At Harvard Kennedy School, Narayanamurti will be named the Benjamin Pierce Professor of Technology and Public Policy in July.

"It's important at a place like Harvard Kennedy School, which has such an influence in public policy matters, to have an effective program at the intersection of science, technology, and public policy," he said. 🌐

CFR



**Evan A. Feigenbaum**, former executive director of the Belfer Center's Asia-Pacific Security Initiative and a former research fellow with the Center's Project on Managing the Atom (1998–2000), has joined the Council on Foreign Relations as a senior fellow for East, Central, and South Asia.



**Martin Feldstein**, a member of the Belfer Center's board of directors, has joined CNA as a distinguished fellow. He will advise government leaders on the state of the U.S. and global economy. CNA is a non-profit research organization that operates the Center for Naval Analyses and the Institute for Public Research.



**Jendayi Frazer**, a former faculty affiliate of the Belfer Center and assistant secretary of state for African affairs in the George W. Bush administration, joined the faculty at Carnegie Mel-

lon University on January 30, 2009. She is a distinguished public service professor with a joint appointment in the College of Humanities and Social Sciences' Department of Social and Decision Sciences and the H. Kohn Heinz III College's School of Public Policy and Management. She is also associated with the University's Washington D.C.-based Center for International Politics and Innovation and the D.C. Policy Center of the Heinz College.



**Kelly Sims Gallagher**, director of the Belfer Center's Energy Technology Innovation Policy research group and a member of the Center's board of directors, will be named associate professor of energy and environmental policy at Tufts University's Fletcher School. Gallagher will continue to be affiliated with the Center.



**Robert Gallucci**, a former research fellow with the Belfer Center's International Security Program (1977–1978), will serve as president of the MacArthur Foundation, starting on July 1, 2009. Selected for his broad international experience, intellect, and judgment, he will further MacArthur's commitment to building a more just and peaceful world. Gallucci is currently the dean of the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University.

**“CALL IT THE GREAT REPRESSION.** The reality being repressed is that the western world is suffering a crisis of excessive indebtedness. Many governments are too highly leveraged, as are many corporations. More importantly, households are groaning under unprecedented debt burdens. Worst of all are the banks.”

—**Niall Ferguson**, “Beyond the Age of Leverage: New Banks Must Arise,” *Financial Times* (February 3, 2009)

**“COULD PERSONAL OR NATIONAL ACCOUNTABILITY** for terrorist use of a nuclear weapon deter leaders from selling weapons to terrorists? To what extent could, or should, accountability apply in cases where proliferation is the result of negligence, not intent? Hard questions, yes, but questions 21st-century strategists must not only ask but also answer.”

—**Graham Allison**, “How to Keep the Bomb from Terrorists,” *Newsweek International* (March 23, 2009)

**“ALTHOUGH THE TREASURY'S PLAN IS AIMED IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION,** it needs to be substantially expanded in three ways if it is to succeed. First, the Treasury must be prepared to inject capital into the banks that agree to sell mortgages. Without additional capital, the banks may not be willing to sell the mortgages that are causing their lack of confidence.”

—**Martin Feldstein**, “Geithner's Bank Plan is a Good Start,” *Wall Street Journal* (April 4, 2009)

**“GIVEN THE PUBLIC'S WHITE-HOT ANGER** over the financial sector's unwillingness or inability to ease credit since TARP I and seemingly tone-deaf acts by corporations receiving taxpayer dollars (indiscriminate use of corporate jets, for example), the forthcoming proposals on TARP II will likely be dead on arrival if they don't appear to be tough on executive compensation.”

—**Ben Heineman**, “Executive Compensation: What Obama's Plan Means,” *BusinessWeek* (February 7, 2009)

**“AS FOR U.S. SANCTIONS AGAINST CUBA,** in the past five decades Canada, Japan, Spain, Britain, France, and Italy have all played an active role in sanctions-busting on Cuba's behalf. One of the main reasons that these countries are even commercially competitive in Cuba is because of the absence of competition from U.S. businesses.”

—**Bryan Early**, “To Lift the U.S. Economy, Lift Sanctions on America's Foes,” *Christian Science Monitor* (March 25, 2009)

**“CONSIDER A HYPOTHETICAL.** Had the terrorist attacks of 9/11 been planned by al Qaeda from its current headquarters in ungoverned areas of Pakistan, is it conceivable that today the U.S. would find itself with 54,000 troops and \$180 billion committed to transforming medieval Afghanistan into a stable, modern nation? For Afghanistan to become a unitary state ruled from Kabul, and to develop into a modern, prosperous, poppy-free and democratic country would be a worthy and desirable outcome. But it is not vital for American interests.”

—**Graham Allison and John Deutch**, “The Real Afghan Issue is Pakistan,” *Wall Street Journal* (March 30, 2009)

**“MOST OF THE PAKISTANI ELITE** are in denial. Too many authoritative figures simply refuse to face the extent to which the terrorist threat from Islamist radicals comes from within Pakistan.”

—**Azeem Ibrahim**, “Pakistan in Denial is Its Biggest Security Challenge,” *Middle East Times* (March 6, 2009)

**“YET MANY ARGUE THAT THE WEST** is just expressing wishful thinking when it contends that weaning itself off of fossil fuels will lead to energy security. If energy dynamics evolve along the present trajectory, the same geopolitical factors that pervaded the Oil Age may very well persist in the Renewable Energy Age, if one region remains the dominant producer.”

—**Justin Dargin**, “Saudi Arabia, UAE Promote Energy from Sun and Wind,” *Oil and Gas Journal* (March 2009)

**“THE POTENTIAL HAZARDS OF RISING OCEANS** because of climate change are not limited, of course, to small tropical islands. Such islands simply serve as a warning sign for vast coastal parts of the developing and industrialized world, from Bangladesh to Florida, where advancing ocean waters would also threaten areas with extensive shoreline development.”

—**Cristine Russell**, “First Wave,” *Science News* (February 26, 2009)

**“EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS NEED TO WORK HARDER** to convince their publics that they have as much of a stake in facing global threats as we do.”

—**Nicholas Burns**, “Working With Our Friends in Europe,” *Boston Globe* (April 3, 2009)



**“RESTRAINING THE NUCLEAR AMBITIONS** and capacity for mischief of the odious regime in Pyongyang is unlikely without China’s support for a negotiated dismantling of fissile enrichment and missile launching facilities. Only China has the necessary leverage and influence with Kim Jong-il and his regime.”

—**Robert Rotberg**, “China’s Grand Bargain,” *Boston Globe* (March 26, 2009)

**“WITH THE NEW U.S. ADMINISTRATION IN PLACE**, Pyongyang is once again probing to identify what additional concessions it might be able to extract—hence the rocket launch. The North will try to lock the Obama administration into bilateral talks that marginalize Japan and South Korea. Pyongyang will want to talk missiles to distract from nuclear weapons issues.”

—**William Tobey**, “What Kim Wants, Kim Gets,” *Foreign Policy online* (April 8, 2009)

**“IT GETS HARDER WITH EACH ADDITIONAL SETTLER** and as Israeli opinion shifts rightward. Hamas’ growing popularity is obviously another significant obstacle, and these two trends are reinforcing each other right now. Nothing is impossible in politics, I guess, but movement is in the wrong direction at present and it is hard for me to imagine it reversing in the absence of strong outside pressure.”

—**Stephen Walt**, “What if the Two-State Solution Dies?” *Foreign Policy online* (February 12, 2009)

**“THE PALESTINIANS CANNOT SURVIVE** (even geographically) without access to Israel and the outside world. Israel cannot continue its imperial role in the West Bank (and the use of force in Gaza), nor can it withdraw. Autonomy and exclusion is not possible for two such inextricably related foes. They can exist only together.”

—**Ehud Eiran** and **Richard Rosecrance**, “U.S., E.U. World Community Organizers,” *Providence Journal* (March 3, 2009)

**“I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THE AMERICAN-IRANIAN BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP** is the most important issue in the Middle East—and perhaps the world—in which there is room for progress.”

—**Rami Khouri**, “Building Relations with Iran and Syria,” *Agence Global* (February 25, 2009)

**“WHAT IS NOT CHANGING IS THAT THE WORLD LOOKS TO THE UNITED STATES** to use its power for good, and that power depends in the first measure on the impressive quality of the soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines who make up our military, but importantly also on the equipment and technology they have.”

—Statement of **Ashton B. Carter**, under secretary for acquisition, technology, and logistics-designate, Department of Defense. Confirmation hearing, U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee (March 26, 2009)

**“OBAMA INHERITS A GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS**, two wars in which US and allied troops are deployed, crises in the Middle East and South Asia, and a struggle against terrorism. He will have to deal with this legacy and chart a new course at the same time.”

—**Joseph Nye**, “How Obama Leads,” *Daily Times* (February 11, 2009)

**“THE SHORTCOMINGS OF HOMELAND SECURITY** efforts are well known. Among them the failure to instill a ‘culture of preparedness’ in the public and accusations that guidance emanates from Washington without any consideration of local conditions. This stems from a federal point of view that considers homeland security an extension of national security dictated from inside the beltway. Change will require upending this perspective.”

—**Arnold Bogis**, “Applying the ‘Obama Model’ for Homeland Security,” *Huffington Post* (February 11, 2009)

**“THE LESSON FOR REFORMERS** is not to despair; while some reforms fail, others succeed, and their task may not, after all, be a thankless one. This lesson is extremely important for the Obama Administration.”

—**Elaine Kamarck**, “Reinventing Reform,” *Democracy Journal* (Spring 2009)

**“TRADITIONALLY, CIVIL WARS END** when someone wins. We also know that today’s identity-based civil conflicts are especially deadly. But governments no longer support military interventions as a credible means of securing negotiated settlements. Instead, they rely on good offices and bribes. This means that an increasing number of civil wars now reignite after a few years of troubled peace.”

—**Monica Toft**, “Nasty, Brutish and Long,” *Prospect* (April 2009)

SARDARS/CFR



**James M. Lindsay**, a former research fellow with the Belfer Center’s International Security Program (1986), will return to his previously held post (2003–2006) of director of the Studies Program at the Council on Foreign Relations on June 30, 2009. He will leave the Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law at the University of Texas at Austin, where he was the center’s inaugural director and the LBJ School of Public Affairs’ first Tom Slick Chair for International Affairs.



**Tarek Masoud**, a Belfer Center faculty affiliate and Harvard Kennedy School assistant professor in public policy, has been named a 2009 Carnegie Scholar. Honorees were selected for their compelling ideas and commitment to enriching the quality of the public dialogue on Islam. Masoud was cited for his work on Islamic political parties and elections in the Middle East.



**Elias Mudzuri**, former joint-research fellow with the Belfer Center’s Intrastate Conflict Program and Harvard Kennedy School’s Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, was appointed Minister of Energy and Power in Zimbabwe’s unity coalition cabinet by Movement for Democratic Change leader and Zimbabwean Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai.



Belfer Center Board Members **Joseph S. Nye, Jr.** and **Stephen M. Walt** and Belfer Center Faculty Affiliate **John Ruggie** ranked in the top 20 on a total of four questions from the Teaching, Research, and International Policy (TRIP) Project’s biannual survey of International Relations Faculty in Ten Countries. Nye ranked number one for his work having the greatest influence on the U.S.’s foreign policy in the past 20 years; he also ranked ninth for having the greatest influence on Canada’s foreign policy.



Respondents ranked Ruggie fifth for having the most influence on their own work; Nye was ranked fourteenth for this question. Nye, Ruggie, and Walt all ranked in the top 20 for those whose work has had the greatest influence on the field of international relations in the past 20 years and those who have produced the most interesting scholarship in the past five years.

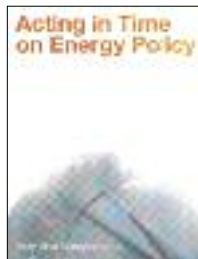
(To read opeds in full, see Publications on the Belfer Center website: [www.belfercenter.org](http://www.belfercenter.org))

—Compiled by Courtney Anderson and Beth Maclin

# HOT OFF THE PRESSES

## *Acting in Time on Energy Policy*

Edited by Kelly Sims Gallagher; Brookings Institution Press  
(May 2009)



Energy policy is on everyone's mind these days. The U.S. presidential campaign focused on energy independence and exploration ("Drill, baby, drill!"), climate change, alternative fuels, even nuclear energy. But there is a serious problem endemic to America's energy

challenges. Policymakers tend to do just enough to satisfy political demands but not enough to solve the real problems, and they wait too long to act. The resulting policies are overly reactive, enacted once damage is already done, and they are too often incomplete, incoherent, and ineffectual. This important volume details this problem, making clear the unfortunate results of such short-sighted thinking, and it proposes measures to overcome this counterproductive tendency.

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**Policymakers tend to do just enough to satisfy political demands but not enough to solve the real problems, and they wait too long to act.**

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All of the contributors to *Acting in Time on Energy Policy* are affiliated with Harvard University and rank among America's pre-eminent energy policy analysts. They tackle important questions as they pertain to specific areas of energy policy: Why are these components of energy policy so important? How would "acting in time"—i.e. not waiting until politics demands action—make a difference? What should our policy actually be?

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**"... [C]ompelling assessments that span a wide spectrum of issues and experts. ... consistently constructive solutions ... and they deserve a host of highly attentive and influential readers."**

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**"For those determined to ensure that the United States acts in time on energy and climate imperatives, it is cause for rejoicing that Kelly Sims Gallagher has assembled compelling assessments that span a wide spectrum of issues and experts. She and her colleagues offer consistently constructive solutions, as distinct from scholarly hand-wringing, and they deserve a host of highly attentive and influential readers."**

—Ralph Cavanagh, Energy Program Co-Director, Natural Resources Defense Council

## *The Ascent of Money: A Financial History of the World*

By Niall Ferguson; Penguin Press  
(November 2008)



In *The Ascent of Money*, Niall Ferguson shows that finance is in fact the foundation of human progress. What's more, he reveals financial history as the essential backstory behind all history. Through Ferguson's expert lens familiar historical landmarks appear in a new and sharper

financial focus. Suddenly, the civilization of the Renaissance looks very different: a boom in the market for art and architecture made possible when Italian bankers adopted Arabic mathematics. The rise of the Dutch republic is reinterpreted as the triumph of the world's first modern bond market over insolvent Habsburg absolutism. And the origins of the French Revolution are traced back to a stock market bubble caused by a convicted Scot murderer.

*The Ascent of Money* documents how a new financial revolution is propelling the world's biggest countries, India and China, from poverty to wealth in the space of a single generation—an economic transformation unprecedented in human history. Yet the central lesson of the financial history is that sooner or later every bubble bursts—sooner or later the bearish sellers outnumber the bullish buyers, sooner or later greed flips into fear.

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**"... an often enlightening and enjoyable spelunking tour ..."**

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**"... Ferguson takes us on an often enlightening and enjoyable spelunking tour through the underside of great events, a lesson in how the most successful great powers have always been underpinned by smart money."**

—Michael Hirsch, *New York Times*

## *Entrepreneurial Finance: Financing of Young Innovative Ventures*

By Ant Bozkaya; VDM Verlag Publishing  
(April 2009)



This book aims to better understand the process of the funding of young innovative ventures, and how a deeper understanding of this process can help public policy to better stimulate entrepreneurial firms—especially in high-technology industries.

It includes original essays which deal with a set of economic, institutional, and public policy issues to examine entrepreneurial finance—broadly to mean financing issues

facing young innovative ventures. These essays, complemented by a comprehensive introduction, are essential for scholars, researchers, policymakers, and entrepreneurs wishing to advance their understanding of this important and expanding field of study.

## *Pakistan's Troubled Frontier*

Edited by Hassan Abbas; The Jamestown Foundation (April 2009)



First demarcated in 1893 by British diplomat Sir Mortimer Durand, the northwest frontier was created when the "Durand Line" imposed an artificial border between the tribal Pashtun communities of modern Afghanistan and Pakistan. Today, the frontier has become a breeding ground

for a growing Islamic militancy in Pakistan's tribal areas that threatens the very stability of Pakistan—a vital U.S. ally in the global struggle against terrorism. Instability in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas and North-West Frontier Province threatens NATO's strategic Khyber Pass lifeline to Afghanistan, where 37,000 U.S. troops are seeking to contain an expanding Taliban insurgency.

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**"... offers the kind of expertise not typically available to the public and Western media."**

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*Pakistan's Troubled Frontier* is a gripping snapshot of the militants and movements threatening a region plunging into turmoil. This work represents an effort to examine the array of security issues threatening Pakistan's volatile northwest frontier and should become an important reference for policymakers seeking greater insight into the region. Packed with informative analysis written by leading experts, it offers the kind of expertise not typically available to the public and Western media. This volume is a substantial contribution to understanding the long-term future of U.S. security interests in South and Central Asia.

## *Post-Kyoto International Climate Policy: Summary for Policymakers*

Edited by Joseph E. Aldy and Robert N. Stavins; Cambridge University Press (Forthcoming August 2009)



The Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements is a global, multi-disciplinary effort intended to help identify the key design elements of a scientifically sound, economically rational, and politically pragmatic post-2012 international policy architecture

for addressing the threat of climate change. The purpose of the project is not to become an advocate for any single policy but to present the best possible information and analysis on the full range of options concerning mitigation, adaptation, technology, and finance. The main findings of the Harvard Project are reported in this accessible volume for policymakers, prepared by project leader Robert N. Stavins and former project leader Joseph E. Aldy.

—Compiled by Susan Lynch, ISP/STPP



# BELFER IN BRIEF

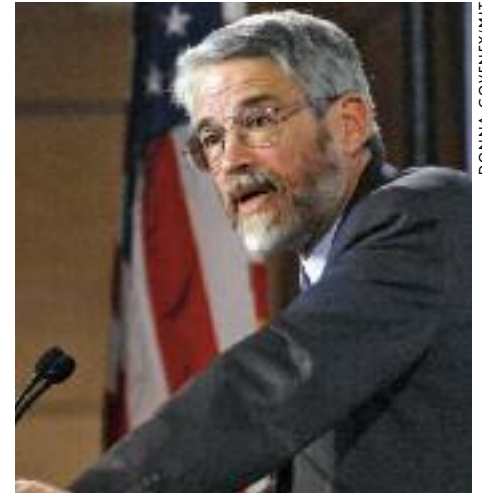
THE RESEARCH COUNCIL, OMAN



**Spreading Technology:** Harvard Kennedy School Professor of the Practice of International Development **Calestous Juma** (right), director of the Center's Science, Technology, and Globalization project, gives **Dr. Hilal Al Hinai**, chair of The Research Council in Oman, a One Laptop Per Child laptop at the Science, Technology, and Innovation Executive Program. The Research Council hosted the program at the end of March.

## U.S.-China Relations

**H**arvard Kennedy School Adjunct Professor **Richard Rosecrance**, a senior fellow with the Belfer Center's International Security Program, chaired a panel discussion titled "Can China and the United States Cooperate over the Long Term: Overcoming Historical and Military Challenges" at a U.S.-China relations event hosted by the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in late April. Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**, along with **Steven E. Miller**, director of the Center's International Security Program, and **Joseph S. Nye**, member of the Center's board of directors, participated in the meeting along with other notables from the United States and China. The conference was focused around the recently published book, *Power and Restraint: A Shared Vision for the U.S.-China Relationship*, which features essays on global warming, trade relations, Taiwan, democratization, WMDs, and bilateral humanitarian intervention. 🌐



DONNA COVENEY/MIT

**Energy in Motion:** **John P. Holdren**, on leave from Harvard Kennedy School and the Belfer Center to serve as President Obama's science advisor, took part in an energy forum at MIT in April titled, "Clean Power: Building a New Clean Energy Economy." Among the participants were U.S. Representative **Ed Markey**, who announced energy bill hearings, and **Carol Browner**, assistant to the president for energy and climate change.

## International Security

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According to the latest Thomson Reuters *Journal Citation Reports*, *International Security* tied for the highest 2007 Impact Factor rating, a measure of how often articles are cited. *IS* ranked first out of more than fifty journals of international relations in 1996, 1997, 2001, 2004, 2005, and 2006, and has been in the top five every year since 1995. Thomson Reuters also ranks journals by two other measures: Cited Half-Life, which indicates whether older articles are cited, and Immediacy Index, a measure of whether articles are cited shortly after publication. *International Security's* Cited Half-Life has almost tripled since 1996 and consistently ranks in the top five international relations journals by this measure. *IS* also ranks highly for its Immediacy Index. The trend suggests that *IS* articles attract attention soon after publication and that they continue to be read and cited for many years.

**The trend suggests that *IS* articles attract attention soon after publication and . . . continue to be read and cited for many years.**

### "How Smart and Tough Are Democracies? Reassessing Theories of Democratic Victory in War"

Alexander B. Downes

New evidence challenges the near-conventional argument that democracies are more likely than nondemocracies to win wars they start. A reanalysis of original data on war outcomes and an in-depth case study of the Johnson administration's decisions regarding Vietnam in 1965 demonstrate that democracies of all types are not significantly

*International Security* is America's leading journal of security affairs. It provides sophisticated analyses of contemporary security issues and discusses their conceptual and historical foundations. The journal is edited at the Belfer Center and published quarterly by the MIT Press. Questions may be directed to: [IS@harvard.edu](mailto:IS@harvard.edu).

more likely to win wars. Furthermore, they are constrained by domestic politics and are often pressured into unwinnable wars.

### "The Social Market Roots of Democratic Peace"

Michael Mousseau

Democracy does not cause peace among nations. An analysis of conflicts from 1961 to 2001 shows that the absence of war between democratic countries depends on domestic economic factors—such as a contract-intensive economy—rather than on democracy. Because China and Russia lack this type of economy, an economic divide will define great power politics in the coming decade. Democratic leaders of nations with contract-intensive economies would do better to support global economic opportunity than to promote democracy abroad.

### "Bridge over Troubled Water? Envisioning a China-Taiwan Peace Agreement"

Phillip C. Saunders and Scott L. Kastner

The new Taiwan president and senior leaders in China have indicated a willingness to reach a cross-strait agreement. Such an agreement could reduce the possibility of a military confrontation in the Taiwan Strait. Although obstacles remain, if China negotiates a formal and generous agreement with Taiwan, a peace agreement could endure.

### "Long Time Coming: Prospects for Democracy in Iraq"

Bruce E. Moon

The odds of Iraq achieving democracy in the next twenty-five years are nearly zero, at best about two in

thirty, but probably worse. Since the end of the nineteenth century, thirty nations have had long-lasting autocracies as extreme as Iraq's. Of those, only seven are now democratic. Their average transition time was fifty years, and only two managed it in twenty-five years. Their collective political experience indicates a similarly pessimistic future for Iraq and comparable nations. Furthermore, Iraq lacks the structural conditions necessary for a successful democratic transition. Thus the sober question of whether Iraq can democratize should deter policymakers from considering regime change in Iran or North Korea.

### "Power without Influence: The Bush Administration's Foreign Policy Failure in the Middle East"

Jeremy Pressman

The George W. Bush administration's efforts in the Middle East failed to advance U.S. national security. The Bush administration did not defeat terrorism, promote democracy in the region, or stop non-conventional proliferation. It was unsuccessful because it relied too heavily on military force, showed an unwillingness to learn and adapt, and did not resolve long-standing policy contradictions. Given the Bush administration's failure in the Middle East, scholars should examine why material power does not automatically translate into international influence.

—Compiled by *International Security* staff

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**Belfer Center Mission:** To provide leadership in advancing policy-relevant knowledge about the most important challenges of international security and other critical issues where science, technology, environmental policy, and international affairs intersect.

Visit our new website at [www.belfercenter.org](http://www.belfercenter.org) to learn more about the Belfer Center.

## Center Scholars Suggest Way Ahead for U.S. in Afghanistan, Pakistan by Sharon Wilke

**“W**e have a clear and focused goal to disrupt, dismantle and defeat al Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and to prevent their return to either country in the future,” President **Barack Obama** said in a statement on March 27, 2009.

Several members of the Belfer Center community comment on President Obama’s plan.

**“Protecting Pakistan’s nuclear arsenal requires preventing radical Islamic extremists from taking control of the country.”**

**—Graham Allison and John Deutch**

**Graham Allison and John Deutch**

“We suggest renaming [this] policy ‘PakAf,’ to emphasize that, from the perspective of U.S. interests and regional stability, the heart of the problem lies in Pakistan. . . . For Afghanistan . . . to develop into a modern, prosperous, poppy-free and democratic country would be a worthy and desirable outcome. But it is not vital for American interests. . . . The problem in Pakistan is more pressing and direct. There, the U.S. does have larger vital national interests. Top among these is preventing Pakistan’s arsenal of nuclear weapons and materials from falling into the hands of terrorists such as Osama bin Laden. . . . Protecting Pakistan’s nuclear arsenal requires preventing radical Islamic extremists from taking control of the country.”

—“The Real Afghan Issue is Pakistan,”  
*Wall Street Journal*, March 30, 2009

**Hassan Abbas**

“There is an emerging consensus among foreign policy experts that the growing insurgency and militancy in Pakistan’s Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) poses the greatest security challenge not only to Pakistan and Afghanistan, but also to the United States. . . . The prevailing democratic transition in Pakistan, despite its limitations, provides the best opportunity for it to halt the region’s extremist trends through joint cooperation and trust building. Creative American policies can play a significant role in this context.”

—“President Obama’s Policy Options in Pakistan’s Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA),” Institute for Social Policy and Understanding, January 26, 2009

**“Nothing is more important than winning the support of the population by providing security.”**  
**—Meghan O’Sullivan**

**Meghan O’Sullivan**

“President Obama’s new strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan deserves high marks on several fronts: The president made a compelling case connecting these countries with U.S. interests; he committed substantially more military and civilian resources to the effort; and he placed equal weight on Afghanistan and Pakistan—the latter being the true epicenter of this conflict. It is reasonable to wonder whether the new strategy is

informed by the most important lesson from Iraq: Nothing is more important than winning the support of the population by providing security.”

—“Obama’s Afghanistan Strategy,”  
*Washington Post*, March 29, 2009

**Robert Rotberg**

“The war in Afghanistan is winnable. The first 4,000 [U.S. troops] will train the Afghan army, which is being expanded. The next 30,000 troops will combat the Taliban in the south and along the border. This approach is the right one, and is an attempt to retrieve the failed, under-resourced Bush policy.”

—“Robert Rotberg Addresses Additional Troops’ Roles in Afghanistan,” Harvard Kennedy School interview, April 3, 2009.



**Afghan Aspirations:** Afghanistan’s Ambassador to the United States **Said T. Jawad** speaks on the challenges and hopes of Afghanistan at a John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum in March. He was introduced by **Meghan O’Sullivan**, lecturer in public policy at the Belfer Center and former deputy national security advisor for Iraq and Afghanistan.